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from the stage of history to that of the individual soul; it is the prologue of the character-tragedy whose course SCHILLER traces in the rest of the play. And (2) it immediately prefaces the succeeding scene with Lionel, suggesting in symbolic form the human love which there lays hold on her, and which is the germ of her bitter self-reproach and of the tragic conflict. Line 2482 puts in words the curse which falls on her, symbolized again by Lionel's bearing away with him her consecrated sword. Thenceforth the dramatic interest hinges on Joan's consciousness of faithlessness to her mission in admitting human love to her soul. The Black Knight is her Evil Self and her Fate in one.

The unfamiliarity of the average student with history might have warranted reference, in more definite shape than foot-notes or incidental allusion, to books in English or in French which deal with the epoch. A list of such books and essays would have been useful. One of the most sympathetic, subtle and—for all its simplicity—profound estimates of Joan of Arc, and incidentally the most luminous commentary on the character as SCHILLER conceived it, is to be found in SAINTE-BEUVE'S 'Causerie du lundi' (19 août, 1850).

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ROMANCE VERSIFICATION.

Über den Ursprung der romanischen Versmasse. Habilitationsschrift vorgelegt der philosophischen Facultät der Albrecht-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, von PH. AUG. BECKER. Strassburg: Trübner. 1890. 8vo, pp. iv, 54.

Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes par MAXIMILIEN KAWCZYNSKI. Paris: Bouillon. 1889. 8vo, pp. 220.

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the origin of Romance versification was made the subject of investigation by MM. LÉON GAUTIER and GASTON PARIS. The interchange of views which took place at that time remained without important additions up to the appearance of a new generation of philologists. General interest in the question was renewed by the studies of W. MEYER (of

Speyer) on the prevalence of accent in classical Latin poetry and on the origin of Latin and Greek rhythmical poetry (in the Proceedings of the Munich Academy, 1882-1886). Following MEYER came the papers of V. HENRY ('Des origines du décasyllable.' Paris, 1886) and of R. THURNEYSEN (*Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* vol. xi, p. 306 ss.) on the Latin type of the French decasyllable. To prove the whole by a part, or to assume a model in Latin for each Romance verse, was not only hazardous for general conclusions, but also limited unnecessarily the range of arguments to be employed. It was necessary, therefore, to take the whole field under survey, to adduce all supporting proofs which it contained, and consequently to treat Romance versification as a system derived as a whole from some previous system of verse. This is the object of Dr. BECKER'S article.

The starting point of such an investigation must be entirely theoretical. It is not possible to trace back the poetry of the Middle Ages to the source of its versification, owing to the fact that when vernacular poetry appeared, at least as we have it in the manuscripts, it was already fixed so far as its structure was concerned. The general features also were the same in each Romance country, and these leave little ground for belief that the origin of the system is to be found elsewhere than in Latin poetry existing before the rise of Romance. The theory proposed by M. GAUTIER was that Romance poetry is derived from Latin rhythmical poetry, and that each Latin rhythmical verse represents a corresponding Latin metrical verse. To which M. PARIS¹ replied that Romance versification is derived from the rhythmical verse of the Latins, but that the origin of Latin rhythmical poetry is wholly popular and has nothing to do with the literary metre—which it indeed afterwards corrupted.²

BECKER in his Introduction enters immediately on this mooted problem. He assumes

1. This is not at present the opinion of M. PARIS, and a statement of the changes his views have undergone will be awaited with interest.

2 M. PAUL MEYER, in a course of lectures on Romance versification given in 1885 at the Collège de France, summed up his position on this point as follows: "La poésie rythmique n'est pas la mère du vers roman mais sa soeur aînée."

that the probable source of Romance poetry is in the Latin post-Classical poetry, and makes the latter the subject of a concise and interesting historical sketch. Proceeding to the examination of Latin Christian poetry, which begins with AMBROSE and PRUDENTIUS, he finds this 'poetry, written at first in the strictly Classical metres, tending more and more towards the rhythmical verse of the populace, already known through inscriptions and the didactic poems of COMMODIANUS (iii.c.). A psalm by ST. AUGUSTINE openly assumes, at length (a. 393), the popular form. Now rhythm linked to quantity is often found in the Classical period of Latin verse. At a later date it frequently prevails over quantity and has especial influence at the cæsura and cadence of the verse, making the cadence trochaic as a rule, the hexameter showing almost invariably the ending $\sim\sim\sim$. From these facts BECKER sees in the metrical verse certain elements of self-destruction, which were reënforced in the decline of Classical literature by the increasingly prevailing power of accent, in the popular ear, over vowel quantity. These tendencies changed in time the entire scheme of the verse, but without introducing as yet a new system. Thus the conclusion arrived at by BECKER is that rhythmical poetry is the natural development of the metrical, and accented verse of the quantitative. Among the people this accented poetry prevailed, though in obscurity, until the great Latin literary revival of the eleventh century.

Directly concerned with the transition from metre to rhythm was the verse-form known as the *sequence*. In the East the church service was early varied by intoning the Psalms in recitative and by intermingling later with the liturgy song-phrases, the *tropes*. These latter, at first in prose, afterwards in rhythm, were finally united into strophes. In the West however, under the influence of metrical-rhythmical poetry, the prose recitative was much restricted in the church ceremonies, and an evolution of liturgical songs took place, which ended in the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria*. Thus was prepared the way for the Eastern prose sequences, which responsive chanting developed in time into definite prose rhythms. These reached their fulness under the influence

of the musical genius of NOTKER, the monk of St. Gall. The eleventh century witnessed their evolution into the form of strophes with rich rimes.

Having based Latin rhythmical poetry on the metrical verse of Classical times, BECKER proceeds to trace the modifications of the latter under the influence of the popular current. Already in the poets of the first centuries, the old strophic system had given way to new groupings, the cæsura was made to recur at a regular place in the verse, and the members of the verse were made independent. The cæsura was also required in all verses of more than eight syllables. Later a tendency towards a fixed number of syllables in the verse showed itself, the variable metres fell away, and the hymns are found to be made up of new though simple strophes. The rime began to exercise on the verse-structure an increasing influence. At first monorime, it later became peculiar to a tirade, or *laisse*. The couplet appeared, developed from rimes in the middle of the verse, and compelled the formation of new strophes, which came down through the sequences to the *lais* and the *descorts*.

While metrical poetry thus underwent internal change, it offered to the popular choice certain metres which especially met the demands of the ear for accented verse. The trochaic tetrameter, the verse of the soldiers' songs, became a favorite of rhythmical poetry and was early made into strophes by the Christian writers, while it afterwards formed the basis of the later sequence. Among other important metres retained in general use were the iambic dimeter, the catalectic trimeter, and the various forms of hendecasyllabic verse, particularly the phalæcean. The modification of these metres and others of less vogue, resulted in the formation of a new and uniform system of versification, distinguished by a fixed cæsura in verses of more than eight syllables.

The final victory of accent over quantity completed the adaptation of rhythmical versification to popular use. With the disuse of Latin among the people and the growth of the Romance idioms, this transformation of the accented verse went on ever increasing, but

from the seventh to the tenth century its progress is not to be traced with texts in hand. When the accented verse finally reappeared as Romance poetry, it had already passed the uncertain stage and had become established along the essential lines which it retains today. Yet during the centuries of its seclusion, while the accent, now the determining force, had not altered the verse system, it had told powerfully on the rhythm and had brought about the alternation of atonic and tonic syllables. And also at the cadence the changes in language had developed a sharp distinction between the Romance poetry of the North and that of the South, the latter showing the *piano* and *sdrucchiolo* rimes of the Italian, and its *cæsura*. In the Northern poetry, on the other hand, the verse endings had been shortened to the so-called masculine and feminine rimes, the verse having also a masculine or a feminine *cæsura*. Thus, as a general conclusion, Dr. BECKER finds that the individual Romance verse is not necessarily the modification of a single Latin model, but rather that the Latin metres were so confounded and fused as to form a new system, which again separated naturally into parts.—An appendix to the article contains a restitution of "Ste. Eulalie" according to the rhythmical scheme of the author, and also a rhythmical arrangement of the prolog of "La vie de S. Alexis."

A review of M. KAWCZYŃSKI'S 'Essai comparatif' would both rectify and complete the paper of Dr. BECKER. Yet the former is so far-reaching and affects so directly the system of ancient versification, that a detailed account of it cannot properly come within the scope of the MOD. LANG. NOTES.³ Accordingly only those points directly in question and those touching on the different forms of the perfected Romance verse, will be here considered.

M. KAWCZYŃSKI begins his investigation with the study of the principles which underlie all civilisation. These he determines to be the product not of popular autochthonous evolution but of the superior minds of some one people, which loaned them in varying

³ A full review has just appeared in the *American Journal of Philology* Vol. xi, No. 3.

degrees of perfection to its neighbors. Thus on the one side we have the few intellects, the inventors, and on the other the crowd of imitators and borrowers. As an illustration, Germanic mythology is claimed to be the reproduction, in new surroundings, of Greek mythology and the tales of the Trojan war. So poetry, music and the dance had an artistic origin, and that in Greece. They all issued from the "verbal proposition," which gave birth, first to the syllabic verse, then to the rhythmical verse—the metre being at first only the measure of the rhythm. The three Greek accents gave rise to the three chords of the ancient lyre, and the dance is but a pantomime of the thought in the proposition. So the rhythmical measure, having to fulfil these three duties, became an abstract conception which gradually led to a separation between the measure of *verse*, the metre, by which (owing to the fixed character of poetry) the original rhythm is really preserved, and the measure of *song*, the so-called rhythm, which, thus freed from the restraining influence of the word-phrase, of the accent, took on greater and greater liberty. This in Greek art,—for the Romans, averse by nature to irregularity, subjected the rhythms they received from the Greeks to laws of metre also.

Having thus established the learned origin of verse and reached the period of Latin poetry, where Dr. BECKER'S research begins, M. KAWCZYŃSKI looks about for influences exerted on the later verse, both metrical and rhythmical. Certain of these influences came from orations and treatises on rhetoric. The one class contained rhythmical periods, as CICERO and QUINTILIAN both attest, while the other class, the treatises, not only urged the use of such periods but considered rime also and alliteration to be adjuncts of style. These doctrines were handed down through the schools of rhetoric, so flourishing in Romanized Gaul, to the monastic schools, the birth-places of mediæval civilisation. Meanwhile the difference between rhythm and metre arose again among the Romans in spite of the transformation of the Greek rhythms into metres. The law of beats in rhythm was more and more insisted upon, a law which allowed all manner of substitution, provided the meas-

ure of the beats was kept. Again, in Rome song freed itself from the text and modulated the syllables to suit the effect desired. Thus the neglect of metre is not at all due to the corruption of language, though the notion of quantity held back for some time the rhythmical innovators; but in fact a given rhythmical scheme is based on a given metrical. The decline of the notion of quantity saw the rise as early as the third century of the law of the number of syllables.

The great richness of rhythmical forms in mediæval Latin poetry is due to the imitation of minor Latin poets (who exercised themselves in other metres than are found in HORACE and SENECA), to the stichic use of metrical verses, and to new strophic combinations. Of the most important rhythmical verses, M. KAWCZYNSKI derives the octosyllables from the iambic dimeter, the decasyllable with cæsure after the fifth syllable from the anapæstic trimeter, and that having the caesura after the fourth syllable from the dactylic trimeter hypercatalectic, which had originally no cæsure. In deriving one form of the hendecasyllabic verse from the phalæcean, M. KAWCZYNSKI states that the latter had no cæsure, contrary to the view of Dr. BECKER,⁴ who here, as elsewhere, follows the opinion of W. MEYER. The accent in all these verses was required only at the cæsure and cadence.

Passing to a consideration of the influence of Greek mediæval rhythmical verse on the Latin, M. KAWCZYNSKI refutes the well-known theory of W. MEYER that in Semitic versification lies the source of rhythmical poetry, and studies the character of the *trope*, in which he differs from the opinion of Dr. BECKER by considering it a timid imitation of the lyric song. When it reached the West, as the *sequence*, the Roman sense of order reduced it to the forms of Latin rhythmical verse.

Thus the foundation of Romance versification was laid in Greece at two different periods, the Classical and the Byzantine, and it was the latter period which furnished, in the sequence, the larger share of Romance strophic forms. The administrator of these bequests

⁴ Though later in date, Dr. BECKER's paper makes no use of M. KAWCZYNSKI's volume.

from the literature of antiquity is France—a disputed position, but one which seems to receive here a satisfactory confirmation. M. KAWCZYNSKI points out how even the Italian hendecasyllable, in allowing but not counting the post-tonic syllables, save one, is a compromise between the genius of the language and the law due to French pronunciation, forced on Italy by France,—a definite statement to be offset against the vagueness of Dr. BECKER, as shown above.—He also claims that the hendecasyllable has no cæsure, since it does not increase or diminish the number of syllables according as the word terminating the first 'colon' is a proparoxytone or an oxytone. The only Italian verse having a cæsure is that of CIULLO D'ALCAMO (so-called) and JACOPONE DA TODI. Hence he draws the conclusion that the standard Romance verse increases or diminishes the number of syllables as the cæsure is feminine or masculine.

In the same manner the Spanish long verse, that of the "*Cid*," is modelled on the Alexandrine (the view also of M. PAUL MEYER) and counted as in French, the varying number of syllables being due to the number of post-tonic syllables in the words at the cæsure and accidence. Didactic Spanish poetry employed, as is known, the French octosyllable, while the seven-syllable verse (French six) is frequent in the fifteenth century. But in the second period of Spanish literature Italian influence prevails, and the verse is counted as in Italian measures, that is, one post-tonic syllable is counted. In this period the hendecasyllable is the favorite verse, while the octosyllable, counted as in Italian, is used in the *romance*. Still another stage, that of transition, is presented in the fifteenth century, when the hendecasyllable, borrowed from Italy, is counted as in France. This compromise is found in the '*Danza general de la Muerte*' and in CASTILLEJO. It differs from the Alexandrine in that it is less regular, and is grouped in strophes.

Not less interesting is the evolution of the various forms of Romance lyric from the regular Latin lyric of equal strophes and verse, and from the sequence in its manifold forms. The latter generally began with a poem and ended with an ephymnium. From the sequence came the *chanson* and the *canzone*,

showing the model in all its stages of transformation, while the notion of uniting the strophes in pairs by the same rime is often preserved (see BARTSCH 'Chrestomathie prov.' col. 27 ss.). The envoy of the chanson corresponds to the ephymnium of the sequence, which is addressed as a direct invocation to the saint. Further, the independence of the Italian canzone is due to an imitation of the original form of the sequence, after the French and Provençal poets had adopted the model of the transformed sequence. So also the *pastourelle* derives probably from the sequence, while the *ballade*, supposed to be certainly of popular origin contains often, as in CAVALCANTI, a proem and an ephymnium. It is a recorded fact that there were dances in honor of the Virgin, and the close connection which is above revealed between the religious and the profane lyric receives additional support in the etymology assigned by M. GASTON PARIS to *trouver* (TROPARE). The *lai*, long since admitted to be derived from the sequence, is probably a masculine doublet of the word *laisse*, both words meaning 'a bundle of verses.'

The regular Latin lyric type, having equal verses and strophes, and a refrain, gave rise to the French *romance*. This type, conformable to the law of regularity, was often extended to the pastourelles and chansons, even to the addition of the refrain. From the chanson the ballade differed in having two additional and equal strophes, the one before (*réponse*) and the one after (*tornada*), like the proem and ephymnium of the sequence. But sometimes instead of the *réponse* a second *tornada* was added, and thus two *tornadas* of three verses each close the poem, one being the envoy. Supposing the poem composed of two quatrains, the two *tornadas* added would build the *sonnet*, an explanation supported by the two airs of the ballade and of the sonnet, and rendered plausible by a quotation from ANTONIO DA TEMPO, who calls the *tornadas volte*, the name of the strophes of three verses in the sonnet.⁵

So also the *rondeau*, which consisted of a

⁵ The popular evolution of the sonnet from the strambotto, supported by BIADENE, was reviewed in the MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. iv, cols. 302-309. BIADENE argued along the lines of the autochthonous theory everywhere disputed by M. KAWCZYNSKI.

réponse, strophe and envoy, was modelled on the sequence. The *réponse* was finally reduced to a single line beginning each of the three parts, as illustrated by DA TEMPO. The *rondeau* had but a single melody. The *aubade* seems to be also a form of a sequence, the "matins" of the monks while the *motet* has an apparent likeness to the *frotola*.

Delaying a moment on the subject of the refrain, M. KAWCZYNSKI notes its appearance first in the choruses of ÆSCHYLUS. The Romans gave it a precise form, and thus the formation and etymology of the *romance* are explained.

As is seen from the above summary, the views of M. KAWCZYNSKI are both logical and ingenious. His whole work is remarkable for its concise and systematic development, and while his main positions are sure to provoke a determined opposition, his explanations of the types of Romance verse and poetry seem too strongly entrenched to be seriously undermined.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

MATERIAM SUPERABAT OPUS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES:

SIRS:—In your March number Prof. J. P. FRUIT proposes a quotation from OVID—*materiam superabat opus*—as "a good motto for æsthetics." He also speaks of a "test question" and a "handy rule," and asserts unqualifiedly that it is "the workmanship and not the material that constitutes art."

With the merits of the accompanying dictum upon art I am not now especially concerned, but I do most earnestly protest against any such summary attempt to pack the whole science of æsthetics into a single abstract formula. For my own part, I have been accustomed to conceive of æsthetics as a department of knowledge having a distinct history and dealing with a well-defined range of subject-matter, as a science, in fact, almost or quite coördinate in extent and importance with ethics, logic, psychology or political economy. That it is a branch of homiletics, as your correspondent implies in his 'modest exception' to Prof. FRUIT's article (MOD.